

# SENATE RECORD VOTE ANALYSIS

104th Congress  
2nd Session

**Vote No. 279**

September 10, 1996, 2:17 pm  
Page S-10129 Temp. Record

## DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION/Conference, Passage

**SUBJECT:** Conference report to accompany the National Defense Authorization Act for fiscal year 1997 . . . H.R. 3230. Agreeing to the report.

### ACTION: CONFERENCE REPORT AGREED TO, 73-26

**SYNOPSIS:** The conference report to accompany H.R. 3230, the National Defense Authorization Act for fiscal year 1997, will authorize a total of \$265.6 billion in budget authority for national defense programs (the President requested \$254.3 billion; for related debate, see vote Nos. 172-175). In real terms, this bill will authorize \$7.4 billion less, and the President requested \$18.6 billion less, than was provided in fiscal year (FY) 1996. Details are provided below.

Procurement authorizations totalling \$45.0 billion (\$6.1 billion more than requested) will be enacted, including the following:

- \$3.909 billion for 4 DDG-41 destroyers (an additional 12 will be procured between FYs 1998-2001);
- \$2.155 billion for 12 F/A-18 E/F Hornet fighters;
- \$2.376 billion for 9 C-17 aircraft;
- \$860.7 million for 6 V-22 tilt-rotor aircraft;
- \$699.1 million for the SSN-21 submarine;
- \$997.2 million for the new SSN submarine;
- \$234 million for 6 F/A-18 C/D Hornet fighters; and
- \$178.9 million for Army Night Vision Devices.

Research, development, test, and evaluation authorizations totalling \$37.297 billion (\$2.55 billion more than requested) will be enacted, including the following:

- \$858.4 million for National Missile Defense (see vote No. 160 for related debate);
- \$304.2 million for the Navy Upper Tier missile defense;
- \$621.8 million for the Theater High Altitude Defense System;
- \$56.2 million for the Marine Corps' SAM/MEADS program;

(See other side)

YEAS (73)			NAYS (26)		NOT VOTING (1)	
Republicans (50 or 94%)	Democrats (23 or 50%)		Republicans (3 or 6%)	Democrats (23 or 50%)	Republicans (0)	Democrats (1)
Abraham	Hutchison	Akaka	Brown	Boxer		Pryor- <sup>2</sup>
Ashcroft	Inhofe	Baucus	Hatfield	Bradley		
Bennett	Jeffords	Biden	Specter	Bumpers		
Bond	Kassebaum	Bingaman		Byrd		
Burns	Kempthorne	Breaux		Dorgan		
Campbell	Kyl	Bryan		Exon		
Chafee	Lott	Conrad		Feingold		
Coats	Lugar	Daschle		Glenn		
Cochran	Mack	Dodd		Harkin		
Cohen	McCain	Feinstein		Kerrey		
Coverdell	McConnell	Ford		Kerry		
Craig	Murkowski	Graham		Kohl		
D'Amato	Nickles	Heflin		Lautenberg		
DeWine	Pressler	Hollings		Leahy		
Domenici	Roth	Inouye		Moseley-Braun		
Faircloth	Santorum	Johnston		Moynihan		
Frahm	Shelby	Kennedy		Murray		
Frist	Simpson	Levin		Pell		
Gorton	Smith	Lieberman		Rockefeller		
Gramm	Snowe	Mikulski		Sarbanes		
Grams	Stevens	Nunn		Simon		
Grassley	Thomas	Reid		Wellstone		
Gregg	Thompson	Robb		Wyden		
Hatch	Thurmond					
Helms	Warner					

#### EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

#### SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

**VOTE NO. 279**

**SEPTEMBER 10, 1996**

- \$338.6 million for the Comanche helicopter; and
- \$114.6 million for advanced spacecraft technology.

Recommended active duty end strength: 1,457,418, as follows: Army, 495,000; Navy, 407,318; Air Force, 381,100; and Marine Corps, 174,000;

● Recommended selected reserve end strengths: 910,730, as follows: Army National Guard, 366,758; Army Reserve, 215,179; Naval Reserve, 96,304; Marine Corps Reserve, 42,000; Air National Guard, 108,904; Air Force Reserve, 73,311; and Coast Guard Reserve, 8,000.

Key miscellaneous provisions include the following:

- a 3-percent pay raise and a 4.6-percent increase in the basic allowance for quarters will be authorized;
- a dental health care insurance program will be established for military retirees and their families;
- \$9.98 billion will be authorized for military construction, including family housing;
- \$2.5 billion will be authorized for the Defense Base Closure account;
- \$11.4 billion will be authorized for Energy Department defense activities, including the acceleration of its tritium production program;
- \$1.118 billion will be authorized for the National Defense Sealift Fund;
- the Department of Defense will pay up to \$40,000 to any person who demonstrated that he or she was captured and incarcerated by North Vietnam while on an OPLAN 34A covert mission or its predecessor mission;
- it is the sense of the Congress that the United States-Japan Semiconductor Trade Agreement should be renegotiated;
- overseas Defense Department facilities may not be used to perform abortions on demand (see vote No. 163 for related debate);
- the kinetic energy anti-satellite (KE-ASAT) program will be an element of the space control architecture that is being developed; the President's request was increased by \$75 million with the intention that the KE-ASAT program receive funding (for related debate, see vote No. 162);
- analyses will be made of long-term defense needs (see vote No. 169);
- steps will be taken to prevent the spread of weapons of mass destruction and to respond to emergencies involving weapons of mass destruction (see vote No. 177);
- obsolete M-1 rifles will be transferred to the Corporation for the Promotion of Rifle Practice and Safety instead of destroyed (for related debate, see vote No. 178);
- strategic stockpile sales will be made to offset the cost of waiving fees for foreign military sales (see vote No. 180);
- a Government study will be made on the costs and benefits of enlarging the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO; for related debate, see vote No. 182);
- a plan will be developed for demonstration programs that will allow military retirees who have earned both Medicare and military health coverage after age 65 to remain on military coverage if they choose and to have Medicare reimburse the Defense Department;
- stalking of any person across State lines or on Federal lands will be a Federal crime;
- no Federal agency will license the collection and release of satellite imagery of Israel that is more detailed than commercially available imagery;
- in the future, the Department of Defense will be limited in providing assistance to civilian sporting events except: when necessary to meet essential security and safety needs; or when other sources cannot reasonably provide the necessary assistance, providing assistance will not harm military readiness, and the sponsoring organization agrees to pay the Defense Department for its costs; this provision will not apply to the Special Olympics or the Paralympics;
- Superfund will be amended to allow the transfer of contaminated Federal properties before the completion of remediation activities; the Federal Government will remain responsible for completing the remediation activities;
- a pilot program may be conducted to identify and to demonstrate feasible alternatives to incineration for the demilitarization of assembled chemical munitions; and
- the President will report to Congress within 15 days of enactment of this Act on whether the United States has the capability to intercept and destroy a single ballistic missile launched at the United States.

**Those favoring** passage contended:

Argument 1:

This conference report has strong bipartisan support, and President Clinton has said that he will sign it. In real terms, it will authorize \$7.4 billion less than was provided last year. President Clinton and many of his fellow liberal Democrats in Congress wanted to cut \$11.2 billion more, but in the spirit of compromise they have agreed to accept the higher number. Most of the spending that President Clinton did not request will be on procurement items. Unfortunately, military leaders at the Pentagon estimate that even with that additional spending we are about \$20 billion short of where we need to be if we are going to have the force structure

SEPTEMBER 10, 1996

VOTE NO. 279

---

necessary to meet our defense needs in the future. On other issues the President prevailed. For example, conferees agreed to drop language making clear that the President does not have unilateral authority to change the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty, and they also dropped language requiring the President to move forward on building a limited national missile defense system (right now the United States is completely vulnerable to a missile attack). On all issues, conferees worked in a spirit of comity to develop a firm consensus on national defense. The result is a conference report that should pass with overwhelming support.

**Argument 2:**

Our colleagues have sugarcoated this bitter pill as about as well as they can. The fact is that there is far from a bipartisan consensus on defense. Democrats, led by President Clinton, are determined to continue gutting defense. Republicans are trying to stop them, but are only slowing them down marginally. President Clinton's agreeing to sign this conference report has nothing to do with a sudden urge in him to compromise. Instead, it is due to Saddam Hussein of Iraq. Saddam Hussein, in an election year, has started some acts of military aggression, and as a result President Clinton is determined not to look weak on defense to the American voters. President Clinton has made a lot of brave noises and has launched a few missiles at Iraq, and he desperately wants the American people to think that Republicans and Democrats agree on the military budget in order to cover up what he has done to our Nation's defenses.

The United States was a powerful nation when it fought the Persian Gulf War against Iraq. It had 28 Army divisions, 38 Air Force Wings, 556 ships, and 15 carriers. Today it has only 15 Army divisions, 20 Air Force Wings, 350 ships, and 12 carriers. The Armed Forces have been nearly halved. During the Persian Gulf War the United States had 11 Army divisions in the Gulf. Today, that would be more than two-thirds of all American men and women under arms. If we get dragged back into war in the Middle East, how will we be able to respond if other American interests are then threatened, such as in South Korea? Making matters much worse, if we get in a war now it will be essentially with the same, aging equipment that we used in the earlier war, because Democrats have put the military into a "procurement holiday." We have been coasting on the Reagan military buildup of the 1980s, but that equipment will not last forever, and our technological advantage is being lost as other countries modernize their weapon systems. Even worse, according to the General Accounting Office and others, the Clinton Administration's 5-year defense plan, which we believe is inadequate, is underfunded by \$150 billion. In other words, we will not be as weak as planned; we will be much weaker.

One of the most disturbing parts of this whole debate is that Democrats, led by President Clinton, have stridently fought any attempt to build a national missile defense system. Most Americans wrongly assume that if a rogue nation or a terrorist were to fire a nuclear missile at Los Angeles, New York City, or another city the United States would just shoot it down. The unfortunate truth is that the United States does not have any system in place to shoot down even one missile. It is not that the technology does not exist--it is that Democrats refuse to build it. For the cost of a billion dollars a year a reliable system could be in place within a few years; one system that could stop a single missile (but could not reliably stop several) could be built for the total sum of \$1 billion. Republicans in Congress have again caved in to Democrats on this issue. They have provided just enough funds to keep the United States ability to make a missile defense system intact, but they have dropped all requirements to build a system. We are on hold until after the elections. If Dole wins, the American people will be protected by a national missile defense. If Clinton wins, he and his fellow liberal Democrats will fight to keep them defenseless.

The first duty of any nation is defense. We are failing in that duty with this conference report. We will vote for it because it is the best we can get out of this President, even at a time when for political reasons he wants to look tough on defense. Hopefully, soon, we will have a President who takes seriously the need to protect the national security interests of the United States.

**Those opposing passage contended:**

The United States is cutting huge sums from numerous meritorious social programs, but at the same time we are being asked to spend more than \$11 billion more on defense than President Clinton requested. This request is misguided and unconscionable. Additionally, we disagree with some of the management provisions in this conference report, such as the proposed elimination of the Defense Business Operating Fund (DBOF). For these reasons, we urge the rejection of this conference report.